2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivaca;[18] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[20] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivaca by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[21] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalon where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[18] Blom and LaFarge 1927: 2: 343–345.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2: 383.
[21] *Ibid.*, 2: 344.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2: 345–349.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P 465-A] Teklum

682 178 121 626 only a rise in the tensions that provoke conflict, but an undermining of the social-control mechanisms for channeling them. The perception of these changes by the members of the society makes for shifts in the individual calculi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of behavior. In order to understand the interrelated problems of the sources of the increasing tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as a means of resolving them, I have reconstructed the course of social change in the period from 1935 to 1965.

[428]

178 556 *Increasing Social Tensions*

New economic enterprises have increased wealth differences in the community. The best measure of this is in the increase in cattle-holding, which is a socially approved way of spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and they had only one or two head each. Today, 178 one of the herders in the community has 200 233 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households 556 have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the sense that instead of just having a team of oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are 233 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle 685 roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads to accusations of theft. I have never heard such accusations directed against anyone outside the community; crime as well as positive moral relationships is confined within the 682 boundaries of this corporate community. Sus- 685 pected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle- [474] owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 274 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry was introduced about 15 years ago, but the number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40 [438] in the last five years. From an enterprise [439] formerly meeting only local market needs, contraband liquor is now sold as far away as the coastal area and across the border in Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has re- 204 474 duced the frictions that immediately followed the introduction of liquor-distilling. The cooperative pays the fines of any member caught distilling, and in addition threatens to use group action against informers, who were formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered [578] by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

Handcrafts

323 Among the few handcrafts practiced in [462] the Tzeltal areas, ceramics, produced mainly by women, is the most widespread. Tenango [184] and Amatenango del Valle are the only communities which have made a specialty of this craft. Tenango exports its products [439] through the northern zone, Amatenango through the southern zone, including neighboring Guatemalan villages. Both places use 323 a similar ceramic technique but different 184 shape and ornamentation. Referring to Amatenango del Valle, Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:396) state:

> The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one shape; a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, however, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep, reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman in charge turns them [438] until they are done. These pots are carried by [439] the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redistributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala.

283 Another widespread craft is spinning and 286 weaving of fabrics for clothing. No village [438] in the Tzeltal area trades these products because production barely meets their family needs. The backstrap loom of pre-Hispanic origin is the chief tool.

[184] Pita articles—ropes, bags, and nets to gather the harvest or carry loads—are mainly produced in Oxchuc and Cancuc. 322 In Cancuc wooden combs are also manu- 184 factured.

342 *Houses and Furniture*

Houses, from 3 to 5 m. on a side, are predominantly square with thatched roofs. The walls are wattle-and-daub or plain tree trunks tied with vines. Floors are of [354] hardened earth. The houses only have one door and no windows, except in some vil-

[P. 207-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

421 586 her own clothes and her backstrap loom. A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 433 241 The family controls all matters related to production and consumption. The head of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops. 462 476 241 In the most conservative communities, the old custom of planting by a cooperative group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner [785] [834] of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

462 592 Only the family shares in the rest of the labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic animals. [476] Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

294
438 With the closing of the stills in Comitan came a second economic pressure which sharply changed the Aguacatenangueros' pattern of travel. The trade specialty which Aguacatenango had intensively developed, at least by 1920 and perhaps long before, was the weaving of palm hats. A principal point of trade for these hats was Comitan where the Aguacatenangueros took them.
294 With the advent of the Pan-American highway, the region was
438 flooded with nationally manufactured sombreros, which, in the
439 period of ten years completely destroyed the Aguacatenango mar-
438 ket. As the marketability of palm hats decreased, the Agua-
439 catenangueros stopped going to Comitan; and it was during this
*293 same time that the supply of comiteco was cut off.

432
438 The people from Aguacatenango then began to buy their
*293 aguardiente from licensed sellers in Pinola (Villa las Rosas) and Teopisca as well as from clandestine sources, the nearest being in Amatenango and the mountainous area that lay between
548 there and Chanál. The use of clandestine aguardiente was still
687 restricted by the occasional inspection by patrols of soldiers and liquor inspectors who would examine the contents of the houses in Aguacatenango, confiscating the aguardiente for which one did not have a legitimate receipt and taking the holders of such to jail in San Bartolomé de los Llanos. By the end of the 40's, distillation technology had disseminated widely enough among the Indian municipios that a few men in Aguacatenango began

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline. The sand which is mixed with the clay is found nearby. In preparing it for use, the clay has to be chopped with a hatchet and soaked. A temper for cooking pots is made of ground sandstone, called *baš*. This is found near the border of the neighboring town of Aguacatenango, and sometimes Indians of that town bring pieces which they exchange for a soup bowl or other small pottery item.

Variation in the color of the clay—it may be white, white mixed with yellow, true yellow, black, or blue-green—provides the basis for discerning its quality. The white clay is thought to be best since it doesn't break as much in firing. The preferred clay is very soft, and the women test deposits by feeling them with their hands.

The rhythm of work is regular. Children under three years of age climb on their mother's back or lap or sometimes stand by her side nursing. The women do not interrupt their work when this happens, although they may shift their body to accommodate the child. In the organization of work, there is no discussion of what is to be done or who will do it. Orders are given only to the young children. When the women are working, all motions which would require a break in activity are assigned to children who bring unfinished pots to be worked on and shoo away chickens or dogs. The standardization of production rhythm is evidenced in the uniformity in time required for each operation. Timing one potter's production of 10 *apastes* (soup bowls) on two different days, I found that she spent one hour and 10 minutes for each set, an average of 11 minutes per pot. Another woman made a *comal* (platter) in 26 minutes and a second one in 28 minutes. A pair of larger bowls produced by another woman took 15 minutes each.

The continuity in tradition of pottery production stems from a tightly organized behavioral schema with defined units of motion and stages of production. I follow Piaget in his definition of behavioral schema which Flavell (1963:54) has summarized as follows:

> Thus, an action sequence, if it is to constitute a schema, must have a certain cohesiveness and must maintain its identity as a quasi-stable, repeatable unit. It must possess component actions which are tightly

M 563 627 647 T 621 743 647

doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474

In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

T 621 647 312 114

M 563 692

Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

T 628 438 571 608 582

Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

628 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, men-
438 tioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-com-
571 munity marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded
608 cases of emigration from the village, some members of the com-
582 munity keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living
628 in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory
166 of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.
602

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango,
[273] whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each
[311] other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and
312 source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the
628 same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez
776 Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

166 462 464 [829] women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mixture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small humilitations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes (see Fig. 5).

56½ 462 434 [464] [275] The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (already discussed above); or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the [552] men of the village. This second occupation is not very well thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 323 438 [241] [434] In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very different picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery factory because, in addition to the household income derived from the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

462 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling. Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly line" style, with the women distributing their individual work according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity. Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert
[434] cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production represents about half of the income of each independent household, with some slight variation, because households richer in land produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

433 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the
184 economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors. Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many different types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety, is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated land to insure water if rain is missing, and in temporal to insure against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even